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(5) *Anutsqwa xitl*, "Labretted": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Taiakwala* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Anutsqwa xitl* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

?*(6) *Aimā ts*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe xilz*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Taiakwala* named *Aimā ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

*(7) *Slxkitl*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Xril*.

*(8) *Qimqo ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9).

(9) *Qoxlxpmx*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Aimā ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(10) *Tsxlxwxlqo ts*, "Where There Is Much *lxslxwxlq*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming two villages. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles; repeated reference to them will be made, even though the work of Barbeau and others on the recent origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola concepts are not historically accurate.

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[a] without status in the Bella Coola com-
[554] munity, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was
●162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in
567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were
927 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief
[422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold.
437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members
[622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among
726 the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of
431 their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category
773 belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was
648

[a] One of the first efforts of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Xmqo·ti*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[774] this town attributed their protection to *Alquntâm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Tâl·is*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.